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How to Break the Nuclear Deadlock at Geneva

Too little attention has been paid Senator Humphrey's proposal for a way to break the deadlock in the nuclear testing talks. He proposed in a recent speech at Pontiac, Michigan, that we extend the present moratorium on testing for another year from December 31, and that we use the extra time to negotiate a ban with complete inspection on all tests over 5 kilotons. In this range, only a limited number of on-the-spot inspections would be required to police suspicious events. Then, from the date on which that agreement went into effect, Senator Humphrey would allow a further two-year moratorium on shots below the 5-kiloton range. In those two years he would have us conduct an expanded research program with the Soviet Union and the United Nations to improve detection devices to the point where the task of distinguishing small nuclear explosions from small earthquakes would be made much easier, and no longer require those "hundreds" of annual inspections we have been demanding. This makes sense and deserves wider discussion.

A Technological Solution to A Political Problem

We have been pouring millions of dollars into the development of weapons and more recently into the task of how to hide underground tests but little money or effort has been spent on the problem of detection. Perhaps this is because the Defense Department and the AEC, which control the funds, are not interested in efforts which would clear away an obstacle to an agreement they do not desire. The Federation of American Scientists, in a statement urging continuance for another year at least of the present moratorium, emphasized the contribution that technological discovery in this field might make to the solution of political difficulties.

"First," the FAS statement said, "if more sensitive devices could be perfected there might be less frequent need to send inspectors to verify the cause of any given seismographic disturbance. Second, if robot detectors of sufficient reliability were perfected these could be positioned within the territories being monitored and would only require infrequent checking. Finally, if there are special areas within the Soviet Union to which Premier Khrushchov does not want to admit inspector teams, at least these could be monitored by robot devices at the perimeter and thus solve the 'unwelcome inspectors problem'." The FAS called attention to the fact that Senator Humphrey almost six months ago pointed out that, despite the recommendations of the Berkner report, little was being done about improving means of detection. Those aspects of the Berkner report which could be used to make agreement more difficult were high-lighted; those which called for improvement in detection techniques were disregarded. The National Planning Association, in its own report urging such development and a one-year extension of the present test moratorium, even envisages the possibility that "if unilateral inspection possibilities improve," we might be able to police underground tests from afar as we now do atmospheric tests.

We do not understand why Premier Khrushchov does not take the initiative in this field with some dramatic proposal for international cooperation in developing better means for detecting underground tests. There is real fear and resentment in Washington, as the Geneva talks drag on, that the Russians may be "pulling a fast one" in that the current moratorium, indefinitely extended, would give them what they would prefer—test suspension without any kind of inspection. One way to clear the air of suspicion would be to initiate an international project of this kind. Otherwise, it will become more difficult to fight off those who, like former President Truman and Governor Rockefeller, do not want an agreement of any kind because they believe in perpetual arms race, and would welcome a step up in world tension. This, rather than fallout, is the heart of the problem. As Senator Humphrey said in that same speech at Pontiac, "if all our testing were done underground, I think this would result in an increase rather than a reduction of world tension. With all countries burrowing down into the ground to test their weapons, each would have less knowledge of what the other was doing, thereby increasing suspicion and distrust."

While the friends of peace have been doped into a sense of euphoria by the Khrushchov visit, the enemies of peace have not given up hope. Their grand design depends on the breakdown of the nuclear talks in the West and the deepening of trouble over the McMahon line in the East. The abominable snow man Khrushchov needs to hunt down is Chou En-lai, who puts possession of a few hundred square miles of uninhabited and uninhabitable mountain top ahead of good neighborly relations with India and world peace.

For Norman Thomas at 75

Norman Thomas will be 75 next Friday, Nov. 20. He is the one big man the Left in America has developed in our lifetime, and one of the few figures in the declining world socialist movement who has stature and has made his name a moral force. His warmth and magnanimity have been an inspiration. One marvels at the deep springs from which he continues to draw hope and zest in the gilded but barren desert of present day America. We add our own grateful salute and best wishes to those which will be expressed at the dinner being given him this Wednesday night, Nov. 18, at the Waldorf-Astoria. We hope the love so many of us feel for him will give him strength to go on for many years to come. There is none to take his place.

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Even One-Sided and Limited Inquiry Leaves That Laotian Crisis Deflated

Washington Star Rebukes State Dept. in Comment on UN Laos Report

There could hardly have been a more one-sided and limited investigation than that made by the UN Security Council Subcommittee into the situation in Laos. It received only the documents furnished it by the Laotian government; interviewed only the witnesses that government brought forward; made no effort to speak with the jailed Pathet Lao leaders for their side of the story.

Yet even under these circumstances the sub-committee found no clear evidence of invasion by North Vietnamese troops, as alleged by Laos and broadcast by the State Department. The Laotians claimed (see page 9, annex 3) to have "won over" 7 of the enemy, "among them one senior and two junior Vietminh officers." If so, they would have been the best witnesses with which to prove North Vietnamese aggression, but apparently they were never brought forward. Of 70 prisoners, only 12 were made available for questioning by the subcommittee. These were all Laotians. Ten of the 12 declared that there were Viet-Minh armed men in their Pathet Lao detachments, but the circumstances cast some doubt on their testimony since they were picked by the Laotians rather than by the subcommittee for questioning. The captured armament of the guerrillas was no more conclusive. "The rifles," the subcommittee reports, "were of American, Chinese, Czechoslovakian and French types, made between 1917 and 1953. The ammunition could not be identified." The hand grenades seem to have been made in China.

A Curious Kind of Editing

The U. S. delegation to the United Nations tried its best to save face by issuing a press release which did some curious culling from the UN report. "Anyone who reads the report and examines the evidence submitted," said the U. S. delegation, "will agree with the Subcommittee's members that '. . . it would appear that various degrees and kinds of support have been accorded to these hostile elements from sources on the North Vietnamese side of the border'."

This skilfully omits the opening phrase of the sentence quoted from the UN report. It began, *"From the documents submitted by the Liaison Committee* [of the Laotian government], it would appear. . . ." In specifying the kind of aid from across the border, the Subcommittee was careful to say, "The documentaton provided the Sub-Committee reveals that *in the opinion of the Laotian government* this aid and support includes the granting to the Pathet Lao of access to North Vietnamese territory. . . ." (Italics added).

We were glad to see the conservative *Washington Star* in an editorial last Monday on the UN report say, "This is the flimsy basis which led to the State Department indictment of the 'Communist bloc' in connection with the fighting in Laos—an indictment which implied that the Kremlin was involved. It is also the flimsy basis on which some of our more easily excited politicians called for cancellation of the invitation to Mr. Khrushchov to visit the United States."

That Steel Injunction

The most dangerous aspect of the Supreme Court's 8-1 decision upholding the Taft-Hartley Act injunction in the steel strike lies in the tenuous findings of fact on which it is based. The key findings on the danger to the "national safety" are remarkably thin. As Justice Douglas pointed out in his cogent dissent, less than one percent of all our steel has been going to defense. The trial court found that lack of steel might hamper (1) missile programs, (2) the manned satellite program, (3) nuclear submarines and (4) foreign bases. Since the first three are more or less experimental, and the last could be supplied abroad, we do not see that they measure up to the statutory requirement of "peril" to the national safety. In any case, by some quick conversions, all military needs could quickly be supplied from the 15 percent of the industry not affected by the strike. If the right to strike can be impaired this easily, trouble lies ahead for the labor movement.

Barenblatt Goes to Jail But In Other Areas Two 1st Amendment Victories

The invocation of First Amendment rights in loyalty-security cases is being accorded greater respect by the courts and administrative agencies than its invocation by witnesses before investigating committees. Edgar W. Graham, a once blacklisted merchant seaman and marine engineer, won a 2-to-1 decision in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia November 5. Judges Fahy and Danaher, with Burger dissenting, ruled that Graham could not be denied a U.S. Coast Guard hearing for clearance in maritime employment because he had refused on First Amendment grounds to answer three of 14 questions put to him in a preliminary questionnaire. Graham answered in the negative all questions having to do with sedition, espionage or sabotage and their advocacy but refused on principle to say whether he was ever a member of the Communist Party, a reader of the Daily Worker or a distributor of Soviet literature. This was Graham's second victory this year. A few months ago he won restoration to the New York State Civil Service list and $4,000 in back pay to compensate him for the loss of his job as stationery engineer in a State hospital on loyalty-security grounds. There, too, he had invoked the First Amendment.

The current is running the other way in the field of the witch hunt. Last Tuesday Lloyd Barenblatt surrendered in Federal Judge Pine's court in Washington to serve his 6-month sentence for contempt in refusing on First Amendment grounds to answer political questions and inform on others before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1954. The Committee wrecked his career as a promising young college teacher and the 5-4 decision in the Supreme Court upholding his conviction may have wrecked the First Amendment as a safeguard against the Congressional inquisition. But his going to jail has aroused little protest either among newspapers so sensitive to the rights of intellectuals in the Soviet Union or among intellectuals themselves. He held a press conference in New York a few days earlier but only one of its daily papers, the Post, covered the story. A meeting for him and Willard Uphaus that night raised $1100 but drew only a few hundred people, mostly the old faithful who turn out for every such meeting. Though he is the first victim of the witch hunt to go to jail since the Hollywood Ten and some 30 other victims may soon follow him, there was no demonstration in the courtroom such as there might have been 20 years ago. One old friend and Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn accompanied Barenblatt to court. As Barenblatt disappeared through the little door, Prof. Meiklejohn said "We have just seen a piece of senseless brutality."

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Recognition and Admission to UN Recommended, Offshore Islands to Be Abandoned

First Time in A Decade: Senate Report Looks at Realities in China

For the first time in a decade, a report has been released by a Congressional committee advocating a more realistic policy toward Communist China. The China lobby in 1950 played a major part in the launching of a McCarthyism that had as one of its objects to drive out of the State Department and out of academic life all critics of the Kuomintang. Chiang Kai-shek lost control of the mainland in 1949 and became a power in Washington in 1950. Against this background, the report on Asian policy prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Conlon Associates, Ltd., one of a series of special studies contracted for by the committee, is an event of major political importance. Released November 1, it deserved more attention than it got. The report recognizes that "Communist China is very likely to emerge as one of the major world powers of the late 20th century" and thinks its industrial revolution "may be one of the most rapid the world has seen." We recommend it for study and present its proposals for breaking the ice of China policy:

"1. Stage One :(a) An offer for the mutual exchange of journalists with Communist China, if this program is successfully inaugurated, to be followed by proposals for the exchange of scholars and commercial representatives.

Wanted: A Mission to Peking

"(b) Permission for some prominent individual or group not in the national executive branch of the Government to go to Communist China and conduct such informal discussions with the leaders as are possible.

"(c) The launching of informal, private discussions between the United States and our European allies, Japan, and some of the leading 'neutrals', particularly India, Burma and Indonesia to solicit ideas and some cooperative thinking about the problem of China. If the results showed some promise—

"Stage Two (a) Abandonment of CHINCOM restrictions and permission for trade on the same basis as with the USSR.

"(b) Informal discussion with our allies and 'neutrals' on the following 4-point program: admission of Communist China to the UN; recognition of the Republic of Taiwan; the seating of this Republic in the Assembly; the enlargement of the Security Council to include India and Japan as permanent members as well as China.

"Simultaneous special discussions with the National Government on Taiwan, looking toward the following agreement:

"1. The U. S. would continue to honor its existing obligations to Taiwan and the Pescadores. It would underwrite the defense of the Republic of Taiwan, and would support an expanded economic-technical assistance program.

"2. The military forces of Taiwan would be withdrawn from the offshore islands, together with those civilians desiring to leave.

"3. The U. S. would help in the resettlement of any mainland refugees who wished to leave Taiwan following the establishment of the Republic of Taiwan.

"If feasible, the U. S. would negotiate a treaty of commerce with Communist China, and if successful, this would be followed by de facto recognition.

"The offshore island issue is extremely serious. It might become critical again at any point. Thus it is possible to argue that irrespective of this program, we should extricate the Nationalists and ourselves from this area. These islands bear no relation to the defense of Taiwan, and can only be considered stepping stones to the mainland. Militarily they are very vulnerable. Politically, they are a liability, both in terms of world opinion and in terms of the unhealthy psychology they foster in Taiwan."

On China's Right to Be in The UN

"Irrespective of the noble sentiments expressed in the Charter, the United Nations cannot in fact be considered a league of the pure. The UN already contains members that the United States considers guilty of past acts of aggression, including some of our allies. Speaking in practical terms, moreover, it must be realized that some non-Communist countries regard Chinese aggression in Korea as more complicated than Russian aggression in Hungary. This is due to the prior U.S. decision to cross the 38th parallel despite threatened Chinese intervention, a decision which is felt by many to have expanded the original purposes of the UN in Korea."

—U.S. Foreign Policy: Asia, Report to Senate Foreign Relations by Conlon Associates, (abridged).

A Realistic Picture of Life on That Formosan "Free China" We Support

"Taiwan remains heavily dependent on American aid. Both industrial and agrarian gains have been substantial in the last 7 years. Unless remedial measures are taken, the population density of Taiwan may become one of the highest in the world; it is already greater than that of Japan. Rural living standards are undoubtedly high and in the cities also economic conditions for the common man are generally improved over earlier periods.

"However Taiwan supports a huge army in proportion to the size of its population. Despite the fact that military pay is extremely low, the total costs constitute a heavy drain. In addition to its military forces, the National Government maintains a sizable bureaucracy. Most of the two million refugees presently in Taiwan must be supported directly or indirectly by the Government. Not a few Taiwanese feel that they have to support a large number of 'unproductive' people, and are at the same time denied access to official position. Serious inflation is always a threat. This rich island would have a fairly bright economic future, if it did not face a population explosion and unrealistic military-political ambitions.

"The Kuomintang remains an elitist party with limited public appeal and with serious factional problems. The party still tends to fall between two stools. It does not allow the range of political freedom and competition associated with political democracy on the one hand, and it does not possess the ruthlessness, dynamism and efficiency of Communist totalitarianism on the other hand. Power seems held at the moment by rather tired hands.

"Essentially the Kuomintang continues to follow the Communist organizational model which it acquired after World War I. It has made some progress in establishing cell organizations throughout the island and channelling political action through them. There is little indication, however, that the party has really appealed to the Taiwanese, or that it has genuine mass support. In all probability, most Taiwanese would regard 'independence' in some form as their ideal."

—U.S. Foreign Policy in Asia, Report to Senate Foreign Relations by Conlon Associates (abridged).

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Indifference and Cynicism Greet the Reopening of the Poplarville Case

If Only Mack Parker Had Gotten Himself Lynched in Hungary

Except for editorials in the *Washington Post* and *The New York Post*, the press reaction to the reopening of the Parker lynching by the Federal government has been indifferent. The *New York Times* did not think the story worth page one nor mention it several days later in its Sunday review of the news. If Parker had been lynched in Hungary, our press would have been in self-righteous convulsion, but since it's only a Negro in our own South everybody takes it for granted, including many Negroes who lost faith so long ago in the possibility of white justice that they expect nothing to come of this either.

To Expect Nothing Is to Be Sure of Getting It

This general air of lassitude and cynical indifference is dangerous and may allow the Justice Department to go through the motions of impanelling a Federal grand jury without making a real effort to obtain indictments. Its original announcement withdrawing from the case last May said —after declaring that the kidnapping law had not been violated—"no other successful Federal prosecution could be maintained," a reference to the civil rights statute. Somebody in the department now has a vested interest in proving that forecast right.

Obviously the chances of getting an indictment are not too good and the possibility of a conviction slim. But there are few men whose hearts and minds cannot be reached if enough effort is made.

The Pearl River County Grand Jury never looked at the FBI report on the Parker lynching nor called any of the FBI men as witnesses. This was a deliberate and calculated affront. If the Justice Department now sends first-rate men down to help the U. S. Attorney in Mississippi, if the FBI men are brought before a Federal grand jury, if that body is compelled to look fully at the facts, it is by no means certain that it cannot be brought to indict. There are many indications that certain local officials connived in the lynching and are thus liable under the civil rights law.

Unless there is pressure on Justice Department, however, the tendency will be to slide into a more or less routine effort, doing just enough to make a record for the next election. Unless figures of national prominence speak up, and there is organized pressure from the Negro community, not much will happen. The Attorney General is silent; he hasn't held a press conference in months; he ought to be forced to hold one now. If the conscience of white men sleeps, if black men don't care to bestir themselves, justice will never be done.

Un-Mississippian Activities

A striking increase in radical activity is reported from Mississippi, hitherto a model State. The even tenor of a Mississippi general election was disturbed this month when a Republican turned up to contest the lawful nominee chosen at the Democratic primaries for State Senator from Jackson.

Senator Eastland, ever alert to internal security, entered the campaign to warn voters that this was a move "to establish a two-party system in Mississippi," a subject on which the Senator is an orthodox Marxist-Leninist. The Senator declared that abandonment of the one-party system would "lead to the control of government by radical minorities" and urged voters to "crush this move of the national Republican party before it gets started."

Thanks to this warning, the Republican was defeated. Unfortunately, while attention was focussed on the State Senate race, another scalawag qualified by petition in Holmes county for coroner and by a fluke was elected. As a result the State Republican leadership has been emboldened to announce this is "just a beginning" and that next year it will enter a ticket in the Congressional elections.

We see no easy way to cope with this upsurge. The Mississippi Republicans are too canny to be caught in outright violation of the Smith Act and, the rest of the country being what it is, can hardly be forced to register with the Subversive Activities Control Board. Nor can Walter be relied up to expose them as un-American for opposing the one-party system. What is needed is an un-Southern, or at least an un-Mississippian Activities Committee.

We can hear its counsel asking a Republican candidate courteously, "Is it true, suh, that you advised your sister to marry a Nigrah?"

IFS Speaks 8:30 p.m. Monday, Nov. 23, Carnegie Lecture Hall, Oakland, Pittsburgh

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